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The Shape of Things

THE NAZI ADVANCES IN THE UKRAINE AND on the northern front seem less alarming than they did a few days ago. London reports confirm the Soviet claim that Marshal Budenny has extricated the bulk of his armies and is preparing to make a new stand on the east bank of the Dnieper. The Soviet air force is still active in this sector, protecting the withdrawal of the troops and harassing the German advance guards. A terrific and probably long-drawn struggle is certain before the Germans succeed in crossing the river. The defense forces have the advantage of a difficult terrain and bad weather, which hamper the use of mechanized methods of attack, but the Nazis are reported to have massed some 1,500,000 men on this single front. It is clear that they intend to take the Ukraine at almost any cost. Not only is it rich in resources of food and power and in industrial plants, but its conquest would open the way to the oil fields of the Caucasus, as well as to the Near East and the British-controlled regions beyond. It is evident, too, that the Germans are trying to cut off Russia's access to both the Black and the Caspian Sea in the south, as to the Baltic in the north.

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THE ACTUAL LOSSES SUFFERED BY THE Soviets during the week, including the Black Sea port of Nikolaev and the Krivoy Beg iron region, are serious. But they do not constitute a military disaster when viewed in the light of the total strategy of war on so vast a front. President Roosevelt, discussing with Congressional leaders the question of accelerated aid to Russia, warned them against undue alarm at the German advances. Soviet resistance is still undiminished (the only reports of confusion or imminent collapse come from Nazi sources), and the government is confidently making plans for receiving in Moscow the missions from the United States and Britain which will lay plans for supplying Russia's needs for a long war. The President's warning was timely; it is only to be hoped that reassurance as to Russia's capacity to go on fighting will not encourage further apathy and delay in Congress.

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IRAN HAS RECEIVED BRITISH AND SOVIET representations against the number of Nazi "tourists" and other strategically placed Germans within the country. The nearest Nazi armies are still many hundred miles away, but it is more than likely that a pro-Axis revolt is being hatched to aid in the drive against the Caucasus oil fields. A frontal attack on these fields through southern Russia would be difficult not only because of the immense distance to be traversed but because of the protection afforded by the Caucasian Mountains, which rise to 15,000 feet. No such natural barrier, however, divides the oil fields from Iran, and a few German planes based in that country might be able to put a check to the major part of the Soviets' oil production. By prompt action Britain and the Soviet Union should be able to prevent German control over Iran. But past experience holds out little hope for any but eleventh-hour action.

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JAPAN'S ORDER REQUIRING FOREIGNERS TO obtain special permission before leaving the country, coupled with its refusal to allow 100 Americans to board the President Coolidge, has aggravated Japanese-American relations, but war in the Far East seems no closer than a week ago. The prospect of a working alliance of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States has given Tokyo pause. Japanese troops continue to pour into French Indo-China, but no additional pressure appears to have been brought against Thailand. In the north a complete veil of secrecy has been drawn over Japanese moves in Manchuria. But these moves still seem to be precautionary rather than preparatory to an early attack on Siberia. The real showdown is not likely to occur until the vessels which recently sailed from the West Coast loaded with aviation gasoline and other war materials destined for the Soviets reach Japanese waters. Japan has intimated that it will not allow them to reach their destination. But it has issued no formal warning and could easily ignore the shipments without loss of face if it were not for the fact that Germany is almost certain to demand that the cargoes be stopped as part of Japan's Axis obligations. Faced with the threat of a genuine "encirclement" if it commits a hostile act against any one of the Pacific powers, the Japanese government may have to call time out once again to reconsider its policies.

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MARSHAL PETAIN'S BROADCAST WAS BOTH an affirmation of allegiance to the principles of Hitler and Mussolini and a declaration of war against that substantial part of the French population which still believes in liberty, equality, and fraternity. The aged Marshal openly aligned his regime with Hitler's war for "civilization" and with the Franco revolt in Spain. The implications of this alignment are cogently stated elsewhere in this issue by J. Alvarez del Vayo. But it is within France that the effects of Pétain's policy will be most swiftly felt. His action in strengthening the police, setting up a Gestapo, tightening the anti-Jewish regulations, and pushing forward the so-called treason trials was undoubtedly the result of growing opposition among the French people. We know that sabotage and passive resistance have developed on a large scale in the working-class suburbs of Paris, in Clichy, Levallois-Perret, and Saint Denis. Production in the famous Renault factories, which specialize in tanks and army trucks, and in the Devoitine airplane factory at Toulouse has been appreciably curtailed as a result of sabotage. The railway unions are credited with three serious accidents involving German troop or munition trains within the past month. Wholly unable to cope with the situation, the Paris police have offered a reward of a million francs for information leading to the arrest of the wreckers. Pétain's speech proposes a program so distasteful to the average Frenchman that it can only be enforced by a tightening of German military authority.

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"I BELIEVE THAT THE SPECTACLE WE NOW face of a Continent arming against us to the limit of its industrial capacity makes painfully evident the unwisdom of limiting our weapons to those which at any given moment we assume that a limited number of men may use." Secretary Stimson's rebuke to Congress for voting down a $1,347,000,000 army request for tanks and anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns shamed a joint conference committee into restoring $750,000,000 of the amount asked. It is true that the $1,347,000,000 was for mechanical equipment which would be required by an army of more than 3,000,000, but it should be clear by now that armament of this kind must be ordered and planned for well in advance if we are to be prepared for emergencies. We have had too many illustrations of the danger of waiting until a shortage is actually upon us before we make arrangements for needed supplies. Present plans call for the equipment of only eight armored divisions, hardly enough to cope with the highly mechanized forces of the Axis. In our opinion several times the amount refused will soon have to be voted by Congress if our armored force is to be large enough for adequate defense. Today we are short of anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns and of tanks because of just such belated planning as Congress is now trying to force upon the War Department.

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THE MYTH OF RACE EQUALITY IN THE ARMY was effectively exploded by the recent shooting at Fort Bragg, involving the death of one Negro and one white soldier. Eyewitnesses declare that the affair started when a Southern white M. P. boarded a bus and began to beat

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up a Negro private who was objectionably drunk. Another Negro intervened to ask that the first, who had been seriously hurt, be taken to a hospital or a doctor. When the M. P. began to beat the second Negro for interfering, the latter seized the M. P.'s gun and shot him, only to be shot dead by another M. P. Following this affair white M. P.'s seized another bus load of Negro soldiers and forced them to go to the M. P. headquarters, where they were kept all night. White M. P.'s walked up and down among them, preventing them from sleeping. A Negro sergeant who protested was ordered to stand against the wall with his hands above his head and kept in that position for half an hour. Many other Negroes who happened to be in town that night, but were in no way involved in the shooting, were beaten and prevented from making any protest. We have no doubt that the Administration sincerely desires to accord equal rights to our Negro soldiers. A few days after the Fort Bragg incident Under Secretary of War Patterson, appearing on a nation-wide radio program, praised the heroism and devotion of our Negro service men. But fine words in Washington do not make up for discrimination, and worse, in the army camps. The army must be made to realize that race equality is one of the basic rights it was created to defend.

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INDICTMENT OF EIGHTY-ONE MEAT-PACKING companies, including Armour, Swift, and Wilson, by a federal grand jury on the charge of conspiracy to fix the price of Easter hams should serve as a warning against food profiteering in the present inflationary period. It is charged that the provisions committee of the American Meat Institute, trade association of the packing industry, worked out a scheme restricting the sale of hams for the Easter trade to the four weeks immediately preceding the holiday. Under this arrangement the companies pledged that they would book no orders and list or quote no prices until the four-week period began. By concentrating sales during the peak demand period of the year, they undoubtedly forced up prices. The Department of Justice charges that within a year ham prices were advanced 7 cents a pound by this practice. An indictment is, of course, a long way from conviction, and we have no desire to prejudice the case. But we have long had a suspicion that the forces of supply and demand were not being given full play in determining meat prices. And we hope that the indictment will have a salutary effect.

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REVISION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT WAS forecast last week by Secretary Morgenthau as one of the steps in the Administration's anti-inflation program. Most of the changes now being "studied" by the Treasury are long overdue. It is suggested, for example, that the provisions of old-age and survivors' insurance be extended to cover employees of educational and other non-profit organizations, domestic servants, and agricultural workers. The pay-roll deductions for these groups would materially curtail purchasing power and thus help prevent inflation. It is also suggested that provision be made for a separation wage, so that employees in the defense industry may have a backlog against unemployment at the end of the present emergency. From the standpoint of the national economy such a provision would serve a dual purpose. It would withdraw a certain amount of purchasing power now and release it later in such a way as to cushion the effects of the inevitable post-war letdown. Mr. Morgenthau also intimated that the pay-roll tax for old-age and survivors' insurance might be raised from its present level of 1 per cent to 2 or even 3 per cent. Such a step would undoubtedly have a powerful effect in curbing inflation. But it would represent a frontal attack on the living standards of the lowest-income groups. As it stands, the pay-roll tax is the most regressive levy on our statute books, surpassing, in that regard, even the sales tax. And the threat of excess purchasing power to the defense program does not stem from money in the pockets of the low-income groups—which is used almost entirely for necessities—so much as it does from swollen bank accounts—since these are the funds that go into the purchase of luxuries.

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THE ORDER CUTTING GASOLINE DELIVERIES to retailers by 10 per cent may have been justified as an emergency measure, but it is going to be hard to convince the average motorist that it represents a well-thought-out solution to the gasoline problem. Drastic action of some kind was obviously called for. While gasoline stocks were not low and there was no shortage in production, the shifting of tankers to Britain was bound to decrease stocks in the East. Neither the voluntary curbs called for by Secretary Ickes nor the closing of filling stations between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m. had been effective in reducing sales. Yet of all the steps that might have been taken, the arbitrary reduction of deliveries to dealers was perhaps the least satisfactory. It places the whole responsibility for rationing upon the filling-station attendant. Each such attendant must decide for himself whether a request for gasoline is for legitimate business purposes or for pleasure driving. If he refuses the amount asked for, he runs the risk of losing the business to the filling station on the next corner. If he does not cut down somewhere, he may later have to deny his regular customers the gasoline needed for legitimate purposes. Only chaos can result from such an arrangement. Secretary Ickes has known for a long time that rationing would ultimately be necessary, and he should have avoided stop-gap measures that serve to discredit the defense effort.

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Prelude to Action

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill, their eight-point program for the war and the peace, the joint proposal of a conference in Moscow—these momentous moves herald a new and far more aggressive phase of the war and of America's participation, or they herald a devastating collapse of morale in the anti-Hitler legions which are the peoples of the world. It would not be permissible even to suggest the second possibility if the record of the past held less disillusionment, fewer lost opportunities. This time the gesture must be followed by decisive action. Otherwise it would far better never have been made.

Its only sane meaning is an absolute commitment on the part of the President of the United States that this country will go as much farther than it has gone in support of the struggle against Hitler as may be necessary to win. No other translation would make sense in the circumstances of today. Beyond lie all the complex problems of implementing that commitment. Doubtless they were discussed and plans were laid for the necessary continuing consultations. But they are details. The only important outcome the meeting could have had was a decision to act together to the final necessary limit.

Given that decision, the eight-point program becomes a rallying cry for every democratic force in the allied countries and in the countries under fascist domination. If the decision wasn't made—or if, in the days to come, action fails to follow—the eight points dissolve into mocking platitudes. The consequences of such a failure can be imagined. And it is well for the people of America to imagine them so that we may make known our determination that they shall not occur.

Anne O'Hare McCormick writing last Saturday in the New York *Times* pointed out astutely that Mr. Roosevelt had gone through three stages in his attitude toward the European struggle. First he hoped to avert war; and in this period he even toyed with the idea of a conference between the dictators and the heads of the chief democratic states. After the war came, he shifted to the idea of helping to win it without fighting; and to this day the steps taken in relation to Europe have been a series of efforts to realize that hope. The third idea is only now dawning—unless the meaning of the meeting off Newfoundland is less than it appears. This is the recognition that the United States must be prepared to do whatever is necessary to insure victory.

The President cheerfully denied, on his return to solid ground, that the country has moved nearer to war as the result of his voyage. In one sense this may well be true; the concrete steps he has agreed to take immediately may be no more warlike than those which preceded the conference with Churchill. Our altered position rests rather on the whole set of assumptions which underlie the eight-point charter drawn up by the President and the British Prime Minister.

The first and most crucial assumption is that the United States has made itself responsible for the "final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" and for the preservation of freedom and equal opportunities for all nations in the world which will emerge from Hitler's defeat. In other words, we are now associated with the coming peace in a sense that commits us to winning the war.

The United States has also guaranteed explicitly the absence of such hidden agreements and previous promises as wrecked the plans of Woodrow Wilson at Versailles. Wilson's fourteen points were a one-man blueprint for a new order which had already been sold out. The Roosevelt-Churchill blueprint is the responsible public pledge of the two men who have the future of the world in their hands today.

The third assumption was suggested by the President in his first press conference after he came ashore. He said that both the statement and the comments on it had overlooked the need for an exchange of views on what is happening under the Nazi regime as applied to other nations. The more one looked into it, he said, the more terrible became the thought of the results of that rule in the occupied and affiliated countries. But the eight-point statement did not wholly overlook this situation. At least it expressed the desire of the signers "to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." And that clause, together with the President's deliberate underlining of the plight of the conquered countries, gives rise to a third assumption—namely, that the eight points were designed to encourage the suffering people of Europe to rise against the tyranny of Hitler. They offer them something to fight for—a promise if not a program.

A fourth assumption, growing out of the statement itself and the subsequent proposal—quickly accepted—for a council of war to meet in Moscow, is that Russia will be backed to the limit. That such a course is only the most elementary common sense is obvious; but common sense becomes courageous when it runs counter to the organized opposition of idiots. The President knows that his decision to expand the help this country gives Russia will be bitterly attacked by isolationists of all brands. He will need all the support he can get from responsible citizens if he is to carry this decision into action while it still is possible to act.

These, it seems to me, are the major assumptions for America that underlie the eight points. Perhaps they are worth listing for convenience: (1) full responsibility for the defeat of Hitler and for a just and democratic peace to follow; (2) no secret agreements that would prevent such a peace; (3) encouragement to the oppressed peo-

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ples of Europe to revolt; (4) "all-out" aid to Russia.

On the basis of these assumptions the United States must build its policy from here on—until a decent world is established.

On the President rests a weight that would crush a less buoyant personality. He must make good the implications of this fateful meeting and of the document it gave birth to. He must not disappoint the millions who have found in them new hope of life and freedom. They have been disappointed before—more than once; but their trust is still great, in him and in this country. If the United States is no nearer war than it was before the conference, what sort of non-war are we to wage that will justify the expectations of the world?

I cannot see how the promise of the eight points can be translated into reality unless the country is prepared for measures that do bring us "closer to war." Bases in Ireland and full American naval control of the shipping lanes to England, both through convoys and patrol, would free a large part of the British fleet for action elsewhere, in the Mediterranean or against the Nazi-threatened bases on the West African coast. An attack, jointly with the British, on Dakar and occupation of the Spanish and Portuguese islands; a joint economic and naval blockade of Japan and full protection of the sea route to Vladivostok—such moves would rob the aggressors of their present great strategic advantages. But would they not at the same time put the United States more directly in the firing line? Obviously they would. If the eight points mean what they must mean, it is for such eventualities that the President should prepare the minds of the people.

Brass Hats in a Blitzkrieg

THE town of Frederick, Maryland, has 15,802 people, and its property, on a 100 per cent of valuation basis, is assessed at $24,746,318. Fort Meade, in the same section of the country, houses 25,207 soldiers and cost $21,561,445. The assessed valuation of Frederick includes stores and factories not duplicated in the camp; the construction of its homes, to put it mildly, is of a somewhat more permanent character than the dwellings in the camp. The figure given for the cost of the camp does not include the cost of the land on which it was built. It is safe to conclude that the War Department was not too economical in the construction of the camp.

The report of the Senate's Truman committee on camp and cantonment construction, from which this example is taken, concludes that more than $100,000,000 was wasted during the past year in the erection of camps to house 1,216,000 soldiers. The committee's conclusions are based on a study of nine camps: Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri; Fort Meade, Maryland; Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania; Camp Blanding, Florida; Camp Stewart, Georgia; Camp Hulen, Texas; Camp Wallace, Texas; Camp Davis, North Carolina; and Camp Luis Obispo, California. They were supposed to cost $515,000,000. They cost $828,000,000. The cost per man was $702.41 instead of an estimated $320. The World War cost, then criticized as excessively high, was $216 per man.

More serious than the waste of funds is the light the report throws on the administration of the War Department. It took several months before the department realized that all its contractors were bidding against one another for lumber. The cost of lumber went down 25 per cent when the army began to do its own buying. According to Senator Truman, "Had it centralized its purchases of lumber earlier, it would have saved over $13,000,000 on that item alone." The War Department itself estimated that it could have saved $12,000,000 to $13,000,000 by buying construction equipment directly and obtaining discounts for bulk purchases instead of "renting" equipment from contractors. The government was "protected" by a provision that it could recapture the equipment after rental payments reached a certain total, but recapture values were sometimes as high as 64 per cent more than the cost of the equipment new, "and it was a common practice to set the recapture values at 30 to 35 per cent above cost."

The Truman committee's findings on the cost-plus-fixed-fee form of contract, now widely used in army-navy procurement, indicates that it is even more wasteful than the scandalous cost-plus contract of World War days. Contractors on a three-month government job with no risk attached made three and four times as much, and in one case fifteen times as much, as they normally earned in a year on work done at their own risk. "In the last war," the committee reports, "the contractor had to work to make the costs even more excessive than they would otherwise have been in order to get his large fee. In the present case we have improved it so that now the contractor need do nothing for his fee. If progress is slow, the contractor can simply order new equipment, hire more men, and use overtime. . . . Such action is of course much easier than to increase efficiency." In seventeen construction jobs done on a lump-sum form of contract, the average cost per soldier housed was $380. In the twenty-nine construction jobs done by fixed-fee contract, the cost per man was $684.

"I was utterly astounded to find," Senator Truman told the Senate, "that although a post-war study had been made of camp-construction problems encountered in the World War, all the copies thereof had been lost by the War Department." No adequate planning had been done. No thought had been given to the special camp needs of a mechanized army. "The generals were running the army along Civil War lines," the committee report says, "and had not properly worked out the re-

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quirements of a mechanized army." If these errors were made in so simple a matter as camp construction, it is a safe guess they are being made in the more complex matter of material production and equipment. It would be better to begin correcting these mistakes now, before war, and it is good to know that the Truman committee is going on to make a similar study in ordnance. The country is indebted to Senator Truman and his colleagues for their work, and we hope the War Department will be wise enough to take these findings to heart.

Britain Asks What Now?

BY LOUIS FISCHER

London, August 17, by Cable

THE first reaction to the Churchill-Roosevelt eight points was disappointment, for the wishes of many Britons had led them to believe that Attlee's long-awaited "important announcement" would announce America's entry into the war. America's role in the war is a much-discussed topic, and it would not be wrong to say that Britons are beginning to resent our non-intervention almost as much as the Loyalists resented the non-intervention of the British and French, although the latter did not sell—let alone give—arms to a country fighting fascism.

Those who believe that this British attitude arises from lack of faith in victory without the active participation of America are entitled to their views. Last week I posed this question to practically every person I met here. I said, "Suppose Russia is pushed back so that it cannot assume the offensive or represent a danger to Germany. Suppose America doesn't enter the war. How will England win?" The first answer in most cases was, "But why don't you enter the war?" and that started a long argument. The second answer was, "Maybe Russia will hold out with our and your deliveries of arms." But upon pressing for a reply to the question as stated, with my conjectures assumed to be realities, I finally elicited two views of how victory would be attained: first, through the gradual disintegration of Germany owing to the economic blockade and the hostility of the subjugated peoples over the wide Eurasian expanses; second, through the uninterrupted bombing of Germany—with bombs which are more effective than the Luftwaffe ever dropped over England—by pilots whose aim and machines are better than the Germans'. Only then, when the Nazis are ready to topple, would my amateur strategists consider the prospect of mopping up the Continent with the British army.

Frequently I pursued my inquiries farther and asked, "Suppose after prolonged mutual bombing it appeared that Germany could not get England down and that England could not invade the Continent, what then? Would you accept a negotiated peace?" Again my interlocutors reverted to American policy. In that case, they submitted, the United States was responsible for prolonging the war and for forcing upon them a negotiated peace which would be tantamount to a Nazi victory. However, everybody added that there would be terrific popular opposition to a negotiated peace.

This picture of my sampling of the British mind as I encounter it would be uncomplete without these splashes of color: I went with a Labor M.P. to his London constituency. His political agent told us he had been in a pub where a collection was being taken up to buy drinks for the soldiers when they return home shortly. In the London dock area the chief air-raid warden said, "Many of our people don't expect the war to last out the winter." A soldier tells me his colleagues expect to be out of the army by Christmas. These completely unrealistic expectations may be natural in the slackness born of boredom and inactivity. Certainty of victory coupled with eagerness to have America in a shooting war so as to assure victory is perhaps a paradox, but it is not the only one in the human mentality.

Talking to me as if I were America, Britons, since the Roosevelt-Churchill statement, argue, "If you pledge yourself to certain principles of peace, shouldn't you come in and hasten that peace?" The hope is general here that the eight points will ripen our readiness to assume the role of active belligerent and also accelerate the ferment on the Continent. I have heard many comments on the eight points and will roll them up in some of my own. (1) Does "no aggrandizement, territorial or other," apply not only to America and England but also to the smaller Continental countries? Does it mean no reparations except to restore the ruined provinces? (2) Does this mean plebiscites before the peace conference and before the peace treaties? Will self-determination be applied this time to the losers as well as the victors, unlike Versailles? (3) Suppose people choose to live under fascism, will fascism be tolerated after the war? (4) What are "their existing obligations"? Do they include the Ottawa empire preferentials and the American high tariff, which helped to ruin the European economy? (5) Bravo! How will you do it? (6) What about Mussolini and the other tyrannies? How will you achieve this

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peace? Will it be another League or an Anglo-American balance of power to replace the Anglo-French balance of power? Or will there be some real internationalism this time, with the participation of the best democratic elements of the Continent? (7) Wilson's "freedom of the seas." (8) What article of the Versailles treaty provided for this?

Generally speaking, the eight points apparently are designed to satisfy rather than thrill. They are good as far as they go, but they don't go far enough. They are a skeleton which awaits meat and skin. However, a big debate has been officially launched and now cannot end. Statesmen will be compelled to dot many *i's* and cross *t's* and elucidate *x's*. In the frame of the points the statesmen must draw a stirring picture of a brighter world than now exists in the countries which undertake to give it shape for all.

I am sure Roosevelt felt a greater urge than Churchill to formulate the eight points, but Churchill was able to establish at least one thing: America accepts responsibility for the peace. Otherwise, as far as the United States is concerned, the eight points would be pious wishes conceived in misleading vicariousness. Indeed, America is actually treated as the coequal of a belligerent in Point One. Else what right would it have to the territorial aggrandizement which it renounces therein?

F. D. R.'s First Task

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 16

IT IS against the background of two sets of figures that the 203 to 202 vote in the House on extension of army service must be assessed. The first figures are naval; the second, military.

The day of the House vote Vichy fully joined the Axis. In doing so it brought the total naval tonnage of the Axis powers—Germany, Italy, Japan, and France—to 2,145,000 tons. Our total combatant tonnage is 1,277,000 tons. That two-ocean navy of ours will not be ready until 1945 at the earliest. With the British fleet to aid us, we can defend ourselves in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. In the event of a British defeat, the naval odds would be heavily against us. If the Axis obtained the fleet of a defeated Britain as it has that of a defeated France, it would be able to marshal 3,500,000 tons, a naval force more than twice as large as the one we have now and a half-million tons larger than the one we shall have in 1945 even if the present tempo of naval construction is speeded up considerably; that assumes, too, that the Axis itself builds no new ships in the intervening years. This is the measure of Britain's aid to us, and the basic necessity which dictates our aid to Britain.

The military situation is also grim. Representative Thomason of Texas, a member of the Military Affairs Committee, put the bald facts before the House in the debate on selective service. Germany has 260 army divisions. Germany, Italy, and Japan combined have 449 divisions. We have 33 divisions, most of them only partly trained and yet to be fully equipped. Germany has 40 new divisions in training which will be ready for combat service this year. The Axis has 37,000 fighting planes and 32,000 big tanks; it has a plane production of 3,160 per month and a tank production of 900 per month. We shall not begin to match those production figures until the end of 1942, and at the present rate not until then shall we have a fully equipped and trained army of 2,000,000 men against the 10,000,000 the Axis has under arms.

Hitler will not be defeated by bombing Berlin or scrawling V's on outhouses. To land an army in occupied Europe would require a huge force, and the best the British could provide might be 100 divisions. The problem of landing one division and of maintaining one bridgehead under German bombardment would be terrific enough. Fortunately for Britain and America, the Führer by his attack on the Soviet Union has "landed" a huge anti-Nazi army on the Continent, the only army in the world other than the German which is trained and prepared for modern mechanized war. He has presented Britain and America with an enormous bridgehead on the Eurasian continent, from which flank attacks can be launched on both the Nazis and the Japanese. If the Russians can hold the Nazis on the Dnieper or the Volga, we may not have to worry about Nazis on the Amazon; and if they can hold the Japanese at the Amur, we may not have to worry about the tin and rubber we need from Malaya and the Indies. This is the measure of Soviet aid to us, and the basic facts which dictate aid to Moscow. If either Britain or Russia is defeated, the defeat of the other will become easier; the defeat of both would leave us outnumbered and encircled and blockaded in a hostile world.

Hitler had hoped that dislike for Stalin's ideological table manners—and, conversely, Soviet dislike for ours—would keep the leadership of the Western free countries from effective united action, and it may. The Roose-

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velt-Churchill proposal for a conference with Stalin shows that our top leadership is robust enough to see the obvious. But the debate in the House on the Selective Service Act indicates that Mr. Roosevelt has yet to make America conscious of the realities confronting us. The British people see it; there is nothing like an incendiary bomb to illuminate an issue. But that hair-breadth victory in the House and the unanimous action of the Senate Appropriations Committee on the same day in voting down an army request for $1,347,000,000 for mechanized equipment show that too many Americans are still asleep. When a nation's leadership moves closer to war while its representative assembly moves farther away from it, danger is ahead.

To attribute Congressional action to Republican partisanship is to meet a crisis with a cliché. That a majority of the Republicans in Congress can play politics at a time like this indicates in itself that the issues have not been brought home to the people. Partisanship does not explain the vote of the Senate Appropriations Committee, which is controlled by Democrats, or the sixty-five Democratic votes against extension of army service. Nor does it account for the hostile votes of such all-outers as young Tom Eliot of Massachusetts or Voorhis of California. The Communist issue played a double role. There was a feeling that the Russians would "take care" of the Germans, and there was talk of "bloody Joe Stalin." But those who would lose a war rather than cooperate with the Soviets are distinctly a minority.

More fundamental than any of these factors was the feeling expressed over and over again in the debate by men whose devotion to country is beyond question that the Administration and the army chiefs have not taken the people into their confidence, have made promises only to break them, have not had the courage to be candid. Deepest of all was the rumble from the army training camps. Lack of material and failure to build morale have made extension of service unpopular, and this unpopularity was reflected in the vote. A contented people hates to fight until attacked, but recent history has shown over and over again that a people which waits until it is attacked waits until the enemy has chosen the best possible moment to attack it. Mr. Roosevelt, with the future of the world on his shoulders, has no task more important than to bring this home to the American people.

A Strategy for Victory

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AS COULD have been calculated with mathematical exactness, Vichy, through Pétain's recent broadcast, has sealed the closest possible bonds with Germany. But in spite of having betrayed the spirit of France in so many ignoble ways since his rise to power, the old Marshal likes to prove that he is still susceptible to the charms of *l'esprit français*. It is in that sense that one must interpret his burlesque reference to "the instinct of liberty which lives still within us, proud and strong." To be fair, one should recognize that for more than a year the decayed defender of Verdun has been encouraged in his cynicism by the easy credulity of the democracies. Forgetting his past as a militant fascist and as a man of the Cagoule, together with his behavior during the days of the armistice, many ingenuous democrats have believed that the title of Maréchal de France was enough to set a limit to his dishonor. The theory of the "honest man" and of the "good Frenchman" also helped to obscure the outlines of a situation which it did not require very keen eyes to discern. On the other hand, the old game of playing a fascist who is considered less dangerous against another fascist of more frightening aspect again exercised its irresistible temptation in the chancelleries of the democratic countries.

In not a single case has this diplomatic strategy proved effective. It failed utterly in the case of Italy, where the frail Talleyrands of our day tried to exploit the supposed antagonism between the House of Savoy and the Duce. It failed in Berlin, where the fantastic Nevile Henderson believed that Göring could be won over against Hitler. It will fail in Spain, where we have seen Franco represented as the man capable of keeping Spain out of the Axis orbit in opposition to Serrano Suñer, the evil spirit of fascism. But so many accumulated failures have not yet relieved certain people of the feverish desire to pursue a victorious policy through that absurd and discredited game.

On the very day that Pétain called upon France to tie its destiny to Hitler, a press dispatch from Madrid referred to the serious "disagreement" between General Weygand and Admiral Darlan on the policy of submission to Berlin. And here we are again! As soon as Pétain and Darlan have crossed decisively to the other side, there is discovered another candidate for the confidence of the anti-fascist public—the good General Weygand, who is to be played off against the abominable capitulators of Vichy. And so the game will go on until the hour when Franco will open the doors of Gibraltar and

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Weygand the doors of Dakar to the Nazi armies. Or until the hour when Hitler no longer needs a complaisant footman because every door has been forced by him.

The fact that it was in Madrid that the indignation of General Weygand was discovered should have been sufficient to stamp the news clearly as a Berlin maneuver. It was additional proof of how harmoniously the various agents of the Führer combine for the common task. In the strategy of the Axis every vassal country has its role assigned to it. Every one of them plays its part as in an orchestra which is exceptionally well trained to play a complete symphony. Hitler has understood from the beginning that in many cases the puppet regimes he has established in Europe can render a greater service by keeping out of the fight than by throwing their often meager military contribution into the battle. Surely he has laughed to see the democracies take credit for having succeeded, through their policy of appeasement, in prolonging the neutrality of certain states. As a matter of fact, it is Hitler himself who has been chiefly interested in maintaining this useful fiction, and it was by his orders that certain bellicose impulses, as in the case of the Spanish Phalanx, were restrained from violent expression.

Till the hour arrives when in the judgment of Hitler they can contribute efficiently to a major military operation, the puppet regimes by remaining officially neutral can accomplish tasks as useful as they are various. Let us forget for a moment the secondary services of espionage, agitation, and propaganda; everybody is aware that Franco, thanks to his status as a neutral, can operate today in Latin America and in the United States, and even in Great Britain, in the interest of the Germans, utilizing the privileges of his diplomatic and consular services. The puppet regimes in the countries which are not entirely occupied by the German armies have been assigned other more important tasks. They serve as barriers and obstacles to the freedom of action of the Allies. Nobody will doubt that if it had been possible for Britain, taking advantage of the first ten weeks of Russian resistance, to strike in the west, Hitler would have been caught in a dangerous impasse. It may be that reasons of a strictly military character have excluded an offensive, for instance, in North Africa. But apart from that, the policy of complaisance toward Vichy defeated its own ostensible ends by preventing any possibility of such a move. The puppet government of Pétain was there, limiting by its mere existence the freedom of action of the British. And those rumors from Madrid about the opposition of Weygand, should they be taken seriously, would provide still another reason for hesitation. How could the Allies attempt any move in North Africa which might again throw the irritated Proconsul into the arms of Darlan and the other partisans of Franco-German collaboration?

The game of Hitler has been clear since the beginning of the war, and the case of Italy is the most striking example of his technique. If in September, 1939, Mussolini had not obeyed the orders of Berlin to keep quiet, France could have attacked through Italy when the Nazi armies were engaged in Poland. The pitiful military record of Italy later on in Albania and Libya permits us to assume what would have been the result. In two months Italy would have been crushed. An initial victory for the French army would have eliminated the demoralization which followed a year of inactivity along the Maginot Line. The course of the Battle of France would have been reversed, and today in the western Mediterranean we should have a wholly different picture. But the Italian regime, through its fictitious neutrality, performed the important function of paralyzing the action of the Allies.

If that fact is evident in the military field, it is no less true in the political sphere. The conviction that political effort—anti-Nazi propaganda, uprisings, and sabotage—is as indispensable to the defeat of Hitler as purely military effort is today shared by many people. But the puppet regimes are again there to prevent serious revolutionary action. How promote a revolt against Hitler, that is to say against the Pétain regime, in France while there is still a lurking hope of winning over Vichy? How carry on effective propaganda against the Axis among the populations and the garrisons of North Africa without running the risk of becoming unpleasant to Weygand? How act against the scandalous complicity of fascist Spain and arouse the fighting spirit of the Spanish people without hurting the feelings of Franco?

Only in a courageous recognition that the policy followed until now toward the governmental vassals of Hitler has been a tremendous failure lies hope of escape from disaster. All the puppet regimes must be considered enemy territory, and the question of launching a military or political attack against such regimes must be decided on grounds of strategy rather than in the light of purely imaginary neutralities and friendships. These territories provide the natural road through which to strike at Hitler while the Russian armies absorb his energies in the east. If the time has not yet arrived to move an expeditionary force into Europe, at least the Canary Islands, Dakar, and all the bases which will later be utilized by the Nazis in the Battle of the Atlantic should be secured against them.

There are still people who feel relieved because Pétain in his broadcast did not specify that the French possessions in North Africa should immediately be handed over to Hitler. But Hitler has no interest whatever in seizing Dakar or in marching against Gibraltar while his main strength is concentrated in the east. He can rely on Pétain and Darlan to see to it that the French bases are reserved for him against the day when they will be needed for the Battle of the Atlantic. He can rely on

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Franco to keep in good shape the roads which lead to Gibraltar and Portugal for the moment when Hitler chooses to march through. If the powers engaged in the task of defeating Germany fail to take advantage of the opportunities opened by the war on the eastern front, Hitler is not going to be the one to encourage, by an untimely move in North Africa or Spain, the transformation of the potential war on two fronts into an actuality. It is up to the Allies to utilize those possibilities by jumping over the obstacles and ignoring the scruples which have been created by the existence of the puppet regimes.

Why the democracies, while apparently willing to throw everything into the struggle against Hitler—billions of dollars and millions of men—continue the farce of dealing with these pretended neutrals is hard to explain. One reason may be a reluctance to extend the enemy front. When a man finds himself in a difficult situation he is as loath to break with an old acquaintance as he is glad to welcome new supporters. That is a very human feeling but hardly a convincing explanation, since, after all, there can be no question of reducing or extending the front, for the puppet regimes are a part of that front. No, I suggest that behind the policy of petting the henchmen of Hitler lie three chief motives: the fear of being classified as aggressors, a delusion about the practical advantages of maintaining relations until a rupture becomes unavoidable, and the wishful thought that the continued existence of several reactionary regimes in the world which will come out of the war may help to offset radical tendencies and prevent a strong sweep to the left.

Fear of appearing involved in the same crimes as the totalitarian aggressors is one of the causes which explain the extreme benevolence of the Allies toward the vassal states of Nazi Germany. But it is time now to liquidate a false concept of neutrality behind which Nazi propaganda maneuvers at its pleasure. In Europe today there are no true neutrals. All the countries have become belligerents, or have fallen under Nazi domination, or at best offer points of departure for future German assaults. To take obvious measures of self-defense, to anticipate the next certain Nazi move by seizing, for instance, the Canary Islands, the Azores, or Dakar, cannot without a monstrous perversion of the meaning of the word be considered aggression. The only aggressors are Hitler and the powers which have become his accomplices or his henchmen.

I wish that those who favor maintaining relations with the puppet regimes out of pragmatic considerations would show us what advantages have been gained by this policy. Apart from a handful of refugees who have been snatched from the clutches of the Gestapo, they have been practically nil. The advantages are reserved for Hitler. While, through maintenance of a state of fictitious independence, the frontiers of the puppet regimes have been hermetically closed to any action of the democracies, inside their borders Hitler rules as undisputed master. He can go on strengthening the means of resistance against any later counter-attack by the Allies. He has there his technicians, putting a last touch on the fortifications, opening new strategic roads, as in Spain; and he has his Gestapo to crush any budding revolt. And wherever that effective work is being carried on, the most that the British or the American ambassador can hope for is to be permitted to shake hands with Suñer or Darlan.

At the same time there is the danger that the truly democratic forces in those countries, which await only the occasion to put their foot on the necks of all the Francos and Pétains, will grow demoralized and despairing when they see their own jailers and the enemies of democracy being courted in a way they cannot understand. Yes, there is an immense potential opportunity to use the spirit of revolt, which today is spreading over Europe, to smash Nazism forever. Only through the utilization of this spirit, together with the military effort —as we must never tire of repeating—can Hitler be defeated. But nobody should fall into the delusion that this is an unlimited possibility, that time does not count, and that the peoples of Europe are going to wait years and years for the chance to revolt without meanwhile receiving tangible proofs that the democracies seriously mean to help them shake off the Nazi yoke.

As for the little speculative attempts of certain prewar diplomats and politicians to arrange the world of tomorrow according to their personal taste, they only reveal that these personages continue in the same state of ignorance as when, on the day following Munich, they announced a "sure peace in our time." The world of tomorrow is not a cocktail in which there can be put just so many drops of red and so many of white to suit the taste of a select clientele. If the French people revolt against Pétain, it will not be in order to raise M. Chautemps to his place—even if this visitor has gained favor in certain social circles in Washington. When the Spanish people destroy the Franco regime, it will be to replace it with the men they choose and not with those who enjoy greater sympathy among the old London appeasers.

It is the people who will have the last word. And it is a proof of the statesmanship of the two great leaders who met on the high seas that they proclaimed "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." The eight points which, as has been correctly observed, mark the beginning of the counter-offensive—moral, military, and economic—against the tyrannical and sinister power which threatens the world, provide a standard under which the democracies can march to the reconquest of Europe. But in order that this counter-offensive be completely successful, it is necessary to break the barriers which the puppet regimes have erected along the road to victory. And it is also to

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be hoped that on the new fighting fronts, predicted last Friday by Secretary Stimson, the democracies will take the initiative instead of waiting for Hitler to deliver the first blow.

It was encouraging to see President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill not only setting forth the principles of victory but moving directly into action by initiating the joint conference to take place at Moscow. Their courage and political insight have put to shame many persons of the left who, in the face of the chorus of imprecations from isolationists and half-Hitlerites, have not dared take such a bold position. And let all those others who have hoped to disarm the democracies by branding all active democrats as Muscovites now brand Winston Churchill as Bolshevist Number One. His name, together with that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, will pass into history as that of a man who was able to discriminate among fears and to realize that at this turning-point for mankind it is only the defeat of Hitler that counts.

Time Bomb: Consumers' Credit

BY FERDINAND LUNDBERG

IN CONFERRING on the Federal Reserve Board authority over instalment credit under the provisions of the old Trading with the Enemy Act, President Roosevelt has taken the first step to control runaway prices by indirect financial technique. With its new authority the Federal Reserve Board, through member banks of the Federal Reserve System, can establish the terms on which durable goods like automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, and radios may be sold and can also regulate the making of "personal loans" that affect the market for durable goods.

The board will exercise its control by increasing the size of "down payments" on instalment sales, reducing the time for liquidation of obligations, and possibly by increasing the interest rates charged by finance companies, all of which discount instalment paper at the banks. This sort of regulation accomplishes two thing at one stroke: a stimulating factor with respect to prices is damped down, and the reduction in sales volume releases raw materials for the more urgent demands of defense.

But regulation of instalment selling and the personal-loan business is only a partial measure for keeping consumer credit within bounds. And control of prices by indirect methods in the consumer-credit field can have only a temporary effect. In six to nine months the country will have to face the problem of instituting more direct controls. Purchasing that is choked off by either partial or full control of consumer-credit channels is to some extent purchasing that is merely deferred until the buyers can accumulate the cash. When such deferred purchases begin to hit the market in six, nine, or twelve months, prices will again be lifted.

Until such time, however, the new maneuver of Washington in the "Battle of America"—which is being fought concomitantly with the Battle of the Atlantic, the Battle of Russia, and the Battle of the Mediterranean—will doubtless give the United States a needed breathing spell. The struggle of the democracies can be greatly handicapped or even lost on the price front. Colossal inflation such as is potential in the present disturbed condition of the world could have a disastrous effect on this country, damaging its morale and inner economic organization more than any Luftwaffe could do.

Consumer credit underlies approximately one-third of all retail sales and is therefore a big influence in the national economy. At the end of 1940, according to the Department of Commerce, the total of all outstanding consumer indebtedness stood at $27,615,000,000, distributed mainly as follows:

Real estate and home building.....	$19,560,000,000
Retail sales (instalment and charge account)	5,118,000,000
Cash loans (personal credit).....	2,337,000,000

The first item is for the most part long-term credit, but any new indebtedness in this field stimulates prices and diminishes the available supply of building materials. By easing the terms of FHA loans recently the government has, as a matter of fact, set up a contradictory current in its new policy of controlling prices by curtailing consumer credit. A very decisive damper could be put on prices by discouraging for the time being home building not relevant to the defense program; at the same time a backlog of really important construction activity would be created for the period of transition that will follow the present emergency. The other two items have a more immediate and persistent effect on the market, combining with other present factors—government orders, buying by England, and the wide distribution of increased purchasing power among more than 53,000,000 employed persons—to drive prices higher and higher.

The volume of credit sales for 1941 is expected by the National Retail Dry Goods Association to attain a new peak of $16½ billion, as compared with $15 billion last year. The total of retail sales is expected to be around

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$50 billion, as compared with $45 billion. At the end of this year, according to the present trend, outstanding instalment and charge-account indebtedness may stand at $7 billion, with $3 billion additional in personal loans. Of the $5 billion of retail-sales indebtedness outstanding at the end of 1940, about $2 billion was in charge accounts, about $3 billion in instalment accounts. We may presume that the Federal Reserve Board will now take steps to squeeze down the instalment accounts. But it will have to do more than that to put an effective brake on prices before direct controls, a nationally supervised savings program, and heavier taxes are imposed.

The Federal Reserve Board, through the banks, already has the power to control charge-account credit. Such credit is more than a convenience for cash buyers; it is, in the opinion of credit men, a real accommodation for persons who cannot pay cash. Charge accounts may run from thirty to ninety days. In some instances they are combined with features of instalment selling and designated deferred charge accounts.

It is believed even among credit men that retailers finance charge-account sales, but that is not the fact. The banks really finance such sales, for the banks discount wholesale paper brought in by manufacturers and jobbers. Such paper clears on its own technical merits, but the banks could see to it without much difficulty, if so advised by the Federal Reserve Board, that only such retailers as complied with requests for reducing charge-account volume obtained sympathetic consideration in the matter of wholesale-credit accommodation. Maverick dealers might be caused a lot of trouble in the wholesale-credit division. There is a spontaneous movement among retailers to limit charge accounts, but something more than voluntary cooperation will probably be necessary, since retailers are all understandably eager to boost sales and are all engaged in competition.

Upon the outcome of the instalment-credit and personal-loan regulation will depend Washington's future decisions with respect to charge-account credit and credit for new domestic building. Control of consumer credit cannot, however, be 100 per cent effective. Persons denied credit for the purchase of an automobile, for example, will in many cases buy for cash and then get a loan from a finance company or a bank for the payment of medical bills or residential improvements.

That consumer credit is a dynamic factor in the present situation is shown by the fact that it stands at an all-time high, exceeding the amount even for 1929. During the depression it was one of the safest of investments for banks and finance companies, aggregate losses being negligible, but the recent rate of increase has caused forebodings among some credit experts. By acting boldly now the government will undoubtedly save the country from an experience with consumer credit as disillusioning as was its experience with stock-market credit in the 1920's.

Eventually, however rigidly it controls consumer credit, the government will have to face the problem of controlling prices more directly. The basic question of morale enters very decidedly into this problem. National morale is not going to hold up under the burden of runaway prices—now accompanied, as was not the case in 1917-18, by a very real unemployment problem notwithstanding all-out defense production. Nor would national morale be likely to survive the chaos that would accompany sharply falling prices and attendant dislocations after the emergency. The more the people's buying power can be stored up for the future, the better will the country be cushioned against the strains of the post-defense period. Curtailment of domestic buying now will also be of immediate benefit to the defense program. Before the effects of consumer-credit control wear off, therefore, the country must be brought to see the merit in a nationally supervised savings program and direct control of prices.

Carrie Nations of Fascism

BY PHYLLIS DUBSKY

A NEWSPAPER announcement that Women United, a "peace" group which had been organized at the Carnegie Hall rally in April, was marching on Washington to protest against draft-extension legislation led me to the office of B. Brown, Inc., 480 Lexington Avenue, New York, which according to the notice could furnish the details of the plan. There an eager recruiter suggested that I join them. "You young people should learn how democracy works," she said.

So on the morning of August 12 I boarded a special train at Jersey City with 500 Women United and America First housewives from Brooklyn, Queens, and New Jersey. These women paid $4.85 for their round-trip ticket and planned to march from Union Station to the Senate and House Office buildings in a demonstration to "keep our boys from fighting for red communism." Many brought lunches to eat on the train; a good percentage were more at home in German or Italian than in English; nearly all were mothers of draftees.

Accompanying them were William T. Leonard, Brooklyn chairman of America First, who works with William Goodwin, Christian Front leader in Queens, and Bea Brown of Women United, organizers of the march. Mrs. Leonard, sporting a No Foreign War button, remnant of Verne Marshall days, chatted with red-haired Amy Heller, a worker in the Brooklyn office of America First. Some women peddled the Christian Front *American Way,* and others went through the cars chanting: "Buy a flag. Five cents. Wave it when they take your picture on the Capitol steps. Don't smile. Look serious. Don't salute, or they'll call us Nazis and Fascists." Mrs. Heller wanted action. "Aren't we saps?" she cried. "We

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have the most terrific dictatorship in the world. I don't believe in talking any more. I believe in taking broomsticks and batting it out of them. We ought to get a lot of arms and guns and get our government back again!"

On the Washington platform Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler, who had recently written to *Social Justice,* "There never has been any discrimination against Father Coughlin's followers as far as America First is concerned," greeted us and led the procession to the caucus room of the Senate Office Building. About forty other Women United, having been warned by Mrs. Wheeler that "the warmongers are pulling a fast one," had arrived on Monday and were waiting in the caucus room to hear Senator D. Worth Clark's assurance that public opinion against war was "frozen" at 80 per cent.

After this meeting small groups of angry women swarmed over the House Office Building to call on and present letters to Congressmen. Their tactics were threatening. "We represent 10,000,000 voters," stormed one in a Representative's office. "Congressmen who don't vote our way won't get back here." "We American mothers won't stand for it," said another. "The draftees are treated like rats. We won't have our boys slaughtered for red Russia!"

Among the Representatives startled by abusive guests was Frank H. Buck of California. When he was handed a letter by Amy Heller, he tore it neatly in two. "I'm sorry," he said. "I'm afraid I've already made up my mind to vote the opposite way. I think this country needs a strong army and all the armaments and defenses it can get. I'm afraid we're going to war in six months." Mrs. Heller reddened. "I hope you'll be the first to get killed!" she shouted. Fists were shaken at the astonished Congressman. "If there's a God he'll fix you," shrieked an Italian woman. "The blood of those boys be on your head!"

Late in the afternoon we went to the Capitol to hear the debate. On the way a German woman confided to me in *Bierstube* language, "We have a Communist government, Jew Communist." She had heard, she said, that England and Germany would shortly cease hostilities in order to join forces in the fight against Russia and the United States. Representative Hamilton Fish met the women with a happy smile as crowds of them waited in a queue. In the gallery I heard whispers that Roosevelt's grandfather was a Spanish Jew and muttered cries of "Jew interventionists!"

On the train going home that night the Carrie Nations of fascism were tired, felt better with their shoes off. Some discouraged ones wept and plotted revolution. One bloodthirsty mother rushed through the cars crying: "I say, if they pass this bill, we should march right back—push the police aside. If they shoot us, I'm willing to give my life for my boy. He don't want to fight for the internationalists. Let's beat 'em up!"

A representative of Brooklyn's America First Committee walked through the train requesting complaints about Congressmen. "Were you well treated?" she asked me. "Was so-and-so voting right?" She was followed by a member of Women United circulating "Presidential-nomination referendum ballots" and talking of a new political party. "Representative Oliver is with us," she said, "and asks you to sign." Ballots for the new party had a blank for inscribing the name of the "candidate for President of the United States on the Coalition Party plan for the 1944 election," and bore the address "Coalition Party, 53 C Street S. E., Washington, D. C." The women, cackling about "new leadership," took ballots to distribute among their friends.

In the Wind

THE MILLION-DOLLAR "Americanization" program of the Ku Klux Klan is apparently successful in many parts of the country. Increased Klan activity is reported in New York, Illinois, Indiana, and Colorado. Because of the friction generated there by the Coughlin movement, Detroit has been chosen as a try-out center for open Klan activity, and more than a few Klansmen were present at the recent convention of the automobile workers in Buffalo. A new addition to Klan propaganda is "the inflation menace." One Klan publication, predicting a crash after the defense boom has spent its force, says, "Someone, some organization must be ready to take over the country when it finds itself in chaos, and we are best equipped to do it."

JAMES RORTY, a writer known for his work in exposing drug frauds, recently took a new kind of vitamin tablet which he believed to be safe and therapeutic. The preparation's only noticeable effect was to turn several locks of Rorty's graying hair red.

REPRESENTATIVE MARTIN SWEENEY of Ohio has for the past two years been suing newspapers that carry Pearson and Allen's Washington Merry-Go-Round because that column called Sweeney an anti-Semite. Sweeney has won his case against three of the hundred or more papers that use the Pearson-Allen feature, and he recently inserted the judges' decisions in the *Congressional Record* in order to prove that he was not anti-Semitic. In his own introductory remarks he referred to Walter Winchell as "Lipschitz, alias Winchell."

THE COMMUNISTS have finally taken a position on the case of the Trotskyist teamster leaders in Minneapolis. While they are opposed to the prosecution of Local 544 as "government interference" in union affairs, the Stalinists support prosecution of the Socialist Workers' Party "because it is a fascist, fifth-column organization."

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in July goes to A. V. L. of 84-20 Twentieth Avenue, Brooklyn, for his story on the new Communist line published on July 5.*]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Disease and Punishment

WITHOUT much national publicity the big push against the prostitutes has begun around the army camps. Undoubtedly it is an expression of a high, scientific determination to keep the army free from disease as a part of the even more ambitious and entirely feasible program to free the whole American nation from the plague of syphilis. But as the drive against the girls begins, there seems to be almost as much puritanical zeal about it as scientific determination. Prostitution near a camp is now a federal crime. The girls are being arrested, but little seems to have been done about the tough entrepreneurs of cut-rate whoopee for the soldiers who employ the girls as underpaid laborers in a hazardous and heart-breaking trade.

In one state recently, at the federal government's urging, seven women as a first batch were sent from a camp to a new detention camp specially set up for them. Six of them had sentences of a year, one a term of fifteen months, to serve. From the same army community the local health officer sent a message a day later: "Thirty more on hand and will soon be on the way." The long terms are explained by the long treatment required, but while long treatment is necessary to a cure, short treatment is sufficient to prevent the communication of the disease.

In the area from which the thirty-seven women were sent, 400,000 men will soon be engaged in special maneuvers. Precautions against venereal disease are undoubtedly as proper a part of preparations to receive mobilized men as measures to protect their drinking water. But the mere mathematics of the ratio of the 37 girls to the 400,000 men appals me. Obviously, you cannot protect so many men by making convicts of so few girls. More, of course, will be imprisoned. How many more? How big a detention camp are we going to have? And how many camps? Perhaps the very severity with which a few prostitutes are punished may frighten many more from the trade. But perhaps also if the government had moved with as much dispatch in providing decent recreation facilities for its soldiers as now in proceeding against the girls, it might have made at least as much progress in reducing the disease danger. Certainly, the girls as individuals—and they are being punished as individuals—are not so responsible for the danger as the tough panderers and sometimes sanctimonious property owners who have made the most money out of lonely soldiers' sins.

The girls' profession may not be the oldest, but certainly it has been the most romanticized. I was talking recently to a sharp-eyed observer who was just back from looking at a tough little town near a big camp which makes a good deal of its living now out of soldiers' nights. "They're bringing in fourteen- and fifteen-year-old girls from the farms," he told me. "On Saturday nights they look like children still, but children who are glassy-eyed."

Both of us thought, and I think still, that more than severity is needed when so many such girls are found among the women around the camps. The army wants to protect its soldiers, but the army put a million men down in camps and then waited nearly a year to do something about providing decent recreational facilities in the towns around them. In men congregated in loneliness far from home the army created the biggest mass demand for prostitution this country has known since the last war. Of course, that does not mean that prostitution should be permitted, but it does mean that among the poor near these camps a great many girls have been pushed into prostitution—though perhaps in many cases great pressure was not necessary. Men have made money out of the business, most of the money. It seems to me that these women deserve more attention than they are getting. So far as I know, no planning is being done to give them a chance at decency after they are cured of disease.

There is room for severity. Some tough traffickers could be sent to jail for life without any protest from me. But much as I favor any program to protect both soldiers and America from syphilis, I am not waving any flag for a moral crusade which regards only the women as criminals—and after they have been debauched at low pay in a country where their best chance to eat well was to be bad.

The health officers may not be prepared to admit it, but the worst disease these women are suffering from is poverty in this rich America. A great many of the soldiers have contracted venereal disease from them because the soldiers lacked the sound preventive of decent recreation in the overcrowded towns to which the government had taken them. If we built detention camps big enough to hold all those who properly deserve a share of the blame, they would have to be enormous. And I'm afraid it would take longer than eighteen months to effect a cure.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Blueprint of the New Order

THE SPOIL OF EUROPE. By Thomas Reveille. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.75.

HERE is a book of facts about Nazi-dominated Europe. The author who writes under the name of Thomas Reveille has given us the most complete, accurate, and well-organized picture of Germany and its conquered countries which has been up to now bound between two covers. This book should be read by every American who is interested in what the Nazi system means to this country and the world. It is a comforting thought to know that such a man as Thomas Reveille holds an important official position. May there be many like him.

The author presents toward the end a detailed, accurate description of Nazi economic and financial organization, with several interesting administrative charts showing the setup of agriculture, trade, and industry. There are also several interesting maps illustrating the New Europe and German designs for expansion, a translation of the program of the National Socialist Party, and an up-to-date bibliography.

The Nazi organization has been described before, but there exists no other picture of Nazi economic practices in Europe so complete and so well prepared. The Nazi technique is well characterized by a popular French definition of economic collaboration with Germany, "Give me your watch, and I'll tell you the time." Germany has stolen the watch and is setting the time and the tempo for fifteen conquered peoples. How completely the Nazis have looted their victims is summed up in the statement that the Nazi war seizures already add up to $36 billion, or a sum equal to the total cost of German rearmament before the present war started. "To use the language of the financial press, the Hitler war concern has been able to report for its first year of operation profits large enough to repay all capital sunk into the concern since its foundation."

It is now ironic to remember German crocodile tears about the reparations burden in the Treaty of Versailles. Germany paid about 10 billion marks in the seven years between 1924 and 1931, but borrowed 25 billion marks from abroad during the same period, defaulting on most of those foreign obligations. In other words, foreign creditors, chiefly American, paid the German reparations, of which the Germans complained so loudly. Now, there is no possibility of the conquered nations passing on the burden to foreign creditors. The Nazis are not waiting for the end of the war to make their collections. They seize everything as they go, including the gold stocks of central banks, complete factory installations, and everything that can be moved back to the Fatherland. Within a few days they shipped out of Lyons, France, 140 train loads of silk, machinery, and other spoils. In the seven years 1924 to 1931, when the Dawes and Young plans were in force, Germany paid France in reparations less than 4 billion marks, "a sum which Nazi Germany now collects in costs for six months' occupation."

In setting "occupation costs" it seems evident that the Nazis have made careful estimates of what the traffic will bear. They charge the conquered countries "either the mass aggregate budgetary appropriation or the last total war budget." These costs bear no relation to Germany's actual cost of occupation. For "the supposed upkeep of some 350,000 men Nazi authorities are charging the equivalent of what the French nation spent for the maintenance of an army more than ten times that size, as well as for large naval forces active in the seven seas." Up to February 1, 1941, the Germans had charged the French three times as much as they have spent in France, even including what Germany has spent in buying up French companies and equipment.

A subtle and effective method of sucking up the wealth of conquered countries is the fixing of the rate of exchange between the German reichsmark and the currencies of the victims. By progressive changes in the exchange rate the Nazis have been able to manipulate prices and favor their own nationals at the expense of other peoples. By controlling the rates of interest in conquered Europe they are able to make business more profitable for themselves and less profitable for others. By concentrating all European banking, insurance, and industrial control in Berlin they are able to exact tribute from the rest of Europe. By forcing European trade to clear through Germany they can regulate it at will and take whatever profit they desire in commissions. By fixing the value of the reichsmark in foreign countries at the same rate as the dollar they increase their national prestige.

The Nazis have restricted education in conquered Europe to the elementary schools. State Secretary K. H. Frank told Czechoslovakian professors and students who wished to reopen their universities, "If we lose the war, you will open them for yourselves. If we win the war, elementary schools will be enough for you."

The Nazis have been able to secure stooges and "slave overseers" from their friends and agents abroad. They have forced acquiescence to their new order even in neutral countries. For example, the President of Switzerland admitted in March, 1941, that "there are, however, new ways being introduced. We are ready to accept these new ways—indeed, we must accept them." In the same month the Danish Prime Minister said, "While I naturally believe in independent states, we are for the time being a sort of protectorate." What this means to the conquered is shown by the following:

> Thus, on January 16, 1941, the *Nouveaux Temps*, published in occupied Paris and subject to German censorship, reported that "half of the population" of the town of Abbeville, on the Channel coast, disappeared in a strange "suicidal wave" that caused the inhabitants of this once prosperous Picardy center of 20,000 persons to throw themselves into the Somme River, or else disappear without leaving any trace. The newspaper adds that the autopsies of some of the "drowned" bodies have established that the persons in question had been hit on the head with some blunt instrument and were already dead by the time they were thrown into the river.

DOUGLAS MILLER

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Health and Defense

AMERICA ORGANIZES MEDICINE. By Michael M. Davis. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THIS is another book about medical economics, and one of the best. It deals with the fundamental problem: How can this country provide all its people with first-rate medical care? The urgency of this problem arises from the fact that high-quality medical service is a basic Lower East Side want that is to be had nowadays only at Park Avenue prices. Note the qualifying words "high quality." The prevailing situation is that millions of Americans do not get this type of medical care or, if they do, someone else pays all or part of the cost, often enough the physician himself.

Formulation of the National Health Program and introduction of the Wagner health bill of 1938 made medical economics a national issue. Defense preparations and international complications have since engulfed other domestic, social, and economic reforms, but health and medical care remain nationally important, for there is increasing public realization that some 30 per cent of our supposedly healthy youths are being rejected as unfit for army life, that the medical needs of industrial workers are equally important, and that there is a diminishing choice between guns and butter. Dr. Davis rightly points out that "the pace of change in the organization and economics of medical services may be accelerated and its directions . . . altered by preparations for national defense," and since this is true it is all the more important that this scholarly and yet thoroughly practical book should appear now.

"America Organizes Medicine" comprises three major divisions, the first of which includes a superb analysis of the development of the forces now presenting us with the tremendous responsibility of reorganizing medical services. The author's discrimination between the various types of need for medical care and his proof that, despite a falling death rate and the immense progress of scientific medicine, the basic need for medical services has increased are especially valuable in view of the conventional debater's arguments on this score. Such other issues as "free choice of doctor," the traditional "doctor-patient relationship," and the "fee-for-service" basis of payment are presented in the light of present-day realities and are discussed more dispassionately and convincingly, in the opinion of this reviewer, than in recent books by Rorty, Cabot, Kingsbury, and De Kruif.

In the second division of this book Davis describes existing types of medical organization: public, private, voluntary, tax-supported, financed by insurance plans, and so on. This is not easy reading, but it is fundamental to an understanding of present legislative trends and of the factors involved in long-range planning. In his final section the author, without attempting to play the role of prophet, attempts an evaluation of what adequate provision for the health needs of the American people will mean. Financially, as he sees it, there will be some combination of tax-supported agencies and compulsory health insurance. In the matter of organization, he foresees the emergence of hospital health centers in all densely populated sections of the country. Rural services will require a different type of organization, but in all situations coordinated community, state, and federal participation will be linked with voluntary efforts. Concluding chapters deal with health problems related to the present defense program and with education of the American people to think and act wisely in organizing their medical services, both during the immediate crisis and in the future.

Many readers of *The Nation* know Dr. Davis personally or through the medium of articles and reviews. It is worth recalling, however, that for thirty years he has been preoccupied with medical economics and administration. After serving as director of the Boston Dispensary for ten years, he organized a number of other clinics, including that of Cornell University Medical College in New York City. In 1928 he became director of medical services for the Julius Rosenwald Fund, leaving that post in 1937 to become head of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics and editor of its new journal, *Medical Care*. Dissenting from many of the official policies of the American Medical Association, Dr. Davis has clashed more than once with Dr. Morris Fishbein, whose high personal respect for his adversary nevertheless remains. The story, possibly apocryphal, used to circulate in Chicago that whenever the two were to appear together on the same platform, Dr. Fishbein would call Dr. Davis on the telephone and find out what new stubborn facts he had dug up for the evening's discussion.

DOUGLASS W. ORR

When Greek Meets English

SOPHOCLES: OEDIPUS AT COLONUS. An English Version by Robert Fitzgerald. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.50.

THE renderings of the "Alcestis" of Euripides and the "Antigone" of Sophocles in which Mr. Fitzgerald collaborated with Mr. Dudley Fitts certainly deserved the degree of respect that they received: they were at once fast, tolerably conscientious, and, above all, in the best sense colloquial. I do not know precisely what elements in these translations can be ascribed either to Mr. Fitzgerald or to Mr. Fitts, but certainly I have the feeling that here in Mr. Fitzgerald's solo flight the raciness is not so racy and that the general carriage parades a little more conscious academic dignity. Such lines as

> Where pilgrims come, whose lips the golden key
> Of ministring sweet voices has made still

seem to me more sophomoric that Sophoclean, and I speculate on whether they and others like them would have been retained in a Fitts-Fitzgeraldean version. For if the translation of poetry is not undertaken by a writer who is as it were ambidextrous, then the felicity of his translation may be obscured on either of two hands. I sense here that Mr. Fitzgerald's Greek may perform with greater verve than his English. For if he is anything, the translator is mugwump: that is, compromise is his element. And at the collusion established by the translator between two great languages—when Greek meets English—neither really should be subordinated. For this reason, I suggest, Ezra Pound is a better translator than Arthur Waley. He translates where Mr. Waley transplants. Thus Mr. Fitzgerald sometimes, as in the quotation given above, et cetera, manipulates English as though it were just ceasing to be Elizabethan: for example,

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This fellow—
If I should act in anger, as he deserves,
I wouldn't let him go without chastisement.

And since the translation of Sophocles is made as much across a distance of time as across a distance of etymology, the failure to render the play in contemporary English is almost as serious a shortcoming as a misinterpretation of meaning. Nevertheless, the exoneration and justification of any translation are that the original is made to undergo a kind of metempsychosis: it has to come to life in another place and usually at another time. The fact that Mr. Fitzgerald can perform this act of resuscitation upon the Greek tragedy is enough to obviate all the maudlin and incidental quibbling that such an act of apparent legerdemain invites. Possibly the present version could be more exact or more exacting ("My handling of this . . . has been governed by the general wish to leave nothing in the English that would drive the reader to the library"), but I do not think that it could be more undeniably a thing both alive and kicking.

GEORGE BARKER

"Mein Kampf" for Americans

WHAT "MEIN KAMPF" MEANS FOR AMERICA. By Francis Hackett. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

IT IS to be regretted that this book has so far not become a best-seller, for it is intended for a wide circle of readers. "Mein Kampf" is of basic importance, but it is written in a confused and sometimes abstruse style, without any literary charm and without any clear sequence of thought. In German, though its language is in no way distinguished, the book nevertheless has a style of its own which lends itself only with great difficulty to translation into the much more precise and concise English language. That is the reason why "Mein Kampf" has been little read outside Germany and even less understood. Francis Hackett, a gifted Irish American writer, had not read Hitler's book until he was rudely awakened to its meaning during the German invasion of Denmark, where he was living at the time. He began to study "Mein Kampf" then, and his brief book may be regarded as an extended review or as an introduction to and a commentary on the basic text of National Socialism.

Mr. Hackett succeeds remarkably well in his main task—to make Americans aware of the meaning and implications of "Mein Kampf." His book does not probe very deeply into the background or into all the philosophical or pseudo-philosophical premises of Hitlerism, but that is in keeping with its intention not to become a treatise for the specialist or the intellectual historian. Specialists in the field can easily afford to miss the book, but the many millions who still have no clear idea of what "Mein Kampf" means should be induced to read it. For it discusses with great clarity and intelligent ease the most immediate and most urgent issue of the time, on the solution of which the fate of every single individual depends. This fate may easily be decided by the attitude taken by Americans in the immediate future. Mr. Hackett's little book should become a guide for the American people in the all-important task of making up its mind.

HANS KOHN

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IN BRIEF

GERTRUDE STEIN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Julian Sawyer. Arrow Editions. $7.50.

This is an exhaustive and to all appearances reliable inventory of the published writings of an author who really needed a bibliography. Mr. Sawyer is to be applauded for his labors of tabulation no less than for his expository paper, called Descriptions of Gertrude Stein, with which his bibliography is prefaced. This compilation should be of considerable use to those people for whom all the dope on Gertrude Stein is a necessary possession.

IN THE MILL. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. $2.

This beautiful, wise, and noble book is the story of two years spent in a carpet factory in Yonkers, New York, by a young English sailor and farm boy who there awoke first to the infinite riches of English literature and then to his own vocation, poetry. He despaired of doing anything really fine himself, but felt he had to return home and try. He is now the Poet Laureate of England.

WHY ANOTHER WORLD WAR? By George Gilbert Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

Collective security failed not on account of defects in the Covenant of the League, which in the author's opinion could have been remedied, but on account of the successive betrayals of the principles of the League by cynical or stupid Tory politicians in Britain, seconded by a misguided France. Though the author forbears to criticize the United States for delivering the first blow to the collective security which was the fundamental object of the last war, his thesis is one which we should take to heart now lest the same mistake pave the way for a second breakdown.

DIGGING FOR MRS. MILLER. Some Experiences of an Air-Raid Warden. By John Strachey. Random House. $1.25.

Mr. Strachey here abandons theory for practice. The story is told in such an off-hand, simple, quiet sort of way that it is only the reader's mounting feeling of distress which brings home to him the full horror of the scenes described. The same style conveys admirably the common-sense heroism which enables people to bear this kind of life if they deal with it according to an established routine. It is as direct as a documentary film, and more effective, since it reveals what people think and feel as well as what they do and say. (Since Mr. Strachey includes in the last category a great deal of light relief in the form of literary persiflage between himself and a rather highbrow lady warden, he must not be allowed to go on attributing "Jenny kissed me," to which he devotes nearly two pages of discussion, to *Holman* Hunt.) This is a book which both saddens and fortifies.

HANDS OFF. A History of the Monroe Doctrine. By Dexter Perkins. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

The origin and development of the Monroe Doctrine, from its promulgation, through its varying interpretations and applications, down to the good-neighbor policy of today, are set forth clearly and readably. In spite of the theatrical title, which was not needed to make the book palatable to the general reader, this is a sound, documented synthesis, bearing the stamp of authority. The author is not afraid to challenge accepted opinion, nor does he hesitate to consider the bearing of his historical analysis on present problems.

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

CAUTIONARY VERSES. By Hilaire Belloc. Knopf. $3.

THE ROAD OF A NATURALIST. By Donald Culross Peattie. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

LET US NOW PRAISE FAMOUS MEN: THREE TENANT FAMILIES. By James Agee and Walker Evans. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF PULITZER PRIZE POEMS. Compiled by Marjorie Barrows. Random House. $2.50.

AMERICA PREPARES FOR TOMORROW. The Story of Our Total Defense Effort. By William Dow Boutwell and Others. Harper. $3.50.

THE SOUTH IN ARCHITECTURE. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $2.

A THOUSAND SHALL FALL. By Hans Habe. Harcourt, Brace. $3.

DOCTORS ANONYMOUS. The Story of Laboratory Medicine. By William McKee German. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

SUMMER NEVER ENDS. By Waldo Frank. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.

THE TAXATION OF WAR WEALTH. By J. R. Hicks, U. K. Hicks, and L. Rostas. Oxford. $3.50.

THE MEN AROUND CHURCHILL. By René Kraus. Lippincott. $3.

WEST VIRGINIA. A Guide to the Mountain State. American Guide Series. Oxford. $2.75.

ADOLF HITLER MY NEW ORDER. Edited with Commentary by Raoul de Roussy de Sales. Reynal and Hitchcock. $1.89.

CHALLENGE TO KARL MARX. By John Kenneth Turner. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.50.

PATTERN OF CONQUEST. By Joseph C. Harsch. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.

FATAL PARTNERS: WAR AND DISEASE. By Ralph H. Major. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.

AZTECS OF MEXICO. The Origin, Rise, and Fall of the Aztec Nation. By George C. Vaillant. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

["Still Alive with Lucas," a novel by Helen Riehm which was reviewed in last week's issue of *The Nation,* will not be released for sale until September 8.]

RECORDS

RECORD companies—as their executives will remind you if you suggest action in line with the public proclamations—are business organizations which function not to produce Art but to make money. A certain amount of artistic excellence in music and performance does of course get recorded, but only incidentally to the main activity, which is a trafficking in the currently publicized names of performers for which the public is willing to pay dollars—only, that is, when the name happens to be Toscanini or Schnabel or Szigeti or Budapest Quartet. But the system operates to give us a large amount of poor stuff that crowds out the good: at the time when H. M. V. had the Budapest Quartet under contract it also had the Busch and Pro Arte Quartets; and it was these well publicized and financially profitable but third-rate groups, not the Budapest Quartet, which H. M. V. used for recordings of the last quartets of Beethoven, Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet and C major String Quintet, Mozart's String Quintets, the several volumes of Haydn quartets. And the same thing is about to happen again.

When, a year ago, Columbia got the Budapest Quartet away from H. M. V. and Victor one rejoiced at the possibility (which private assurances converted into a probability) that now at last all the great chamber music of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert would be put on records in the incomparable performances of this group—something which could be expected to

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be as financially profitable as it was artistically desirable. Writing a year later one must feel disappointed over what Columbia has done with the Budapest Quartet so far—a mere five recordings, two of them devoted to Ravel's and Debussy's Quartets, and only two to Beethoven and one to Mozart. But that is not all. Columbia is a business organization trafficking in publicized names; and in the past two years of its renewed activity, to build up its prestige and compete with Victor, it has been engaged in acquiring as many such names as possible, and has acquired on the one hand a Bruno Walter, on the other hand a Mitropoulos; on the one hand a Lotte Lehmann, on the other hand a Lily Pons, a Josephine Antoine; on the one hand a Budapest Quartet, on the other hand—it is now announced—the Busch Quartet. And so the system of operation which gave us the Busch Quartet's pedantic, stodgy performances in place of the Budapest Quartet's on Victor records will now give us the Busch in place of the Budapest performances again on Columbia records.

Columbia's remaining August releases have not yet arrived; and I prefer not to judge its domestic orchestral recordings by what they sound like on the small machines in record stores. Meanwhile, there are further reissues of hot jazz classics, the superb Beiderbecke "Jazz Me Blues" (36156) and Red Novo "Blues in E flat" (36158); but with these again performances which do not belong in the series, since they were never even issued and are not outstanding in quality: the Santo Pecora "Magnolia Blues" and "I Never Knew What a Gal Could Do" (36159), and the 1929 Ellington "That Rhythm Man" (36157), with the reissued "Mississippi Moan" on the reverse side.

One of the features of "Blues in E flat" is Teddy Wilson's piano solo. The performance was recorded early in 1935; and soon afterward Wilson began the long series of records that he made for Brunswick with small pick-up bands and for the most part with Billie Holiday as vocal soloist. The Columbia volume "Teddy Wilson-Billie Holiday" (C-61, $2.50) offers a number of these performances, of which "What a Little Moonlight Can Do" (36206) is not only outstanding in the volume but one of the most exciting jazz performances I know. Good also are "Miss Brown to You" and "I Wished on the Moon" (36205); but in place of "If You Were Mine" (36206) I would have chosen "These n' That n' Those" or "Eeny Meeny Miny Mo." In addition to these, which were recorded early in the series, at a time when Wilson was at his best, the volume offers some of the later performances, in which his own playing is tortuously arid but other musicians occasionally make things interesting or exciting. Lester Young is outstanding and Benny Goodman good in "I Must Have That Man" (36207); Young is good in "When You're Smilin'" (36208); "Easy Living" (36208) offers only Buck Clayton's delicate background comments on the vocal; but "Foolin' Myself" (36207) doesn't offer even that; and a better choice would have been "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," with its superb opening chorus by—I believe—Clayton and Musso. In most of the performances Billie Holiday's mannered singing is something I wish were not there—two exceptions being "What a Little Moonlight Can Do" and "Miss Brown to You." And the volume comes with the usual piece of Hammond phrase-slinging, including one scornful reference to "the high-powered, arranged jazz that has become popular today" by the man who has campaigned as Hammond has for the Benny Goodman brand of high-powered, arranged jazz.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO was Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic during the civil war. He is one of the founders of the Free World Association, an organization which will be devoted to revitalizing the international movement for collective security.

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DOUGLAS MILLER is the author of the widely discussed "You Can't Do Business with Hitler."

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ASIA *The Magazine of the Orient* 40 E. 49th St., New York City

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Letters to the Editors

Stroll Through an Air Raid

Dear Sirs: A letter I received recently from an English correspondent throws so much light on the experience of the average Englishman during the past year that I should like to share it with others. Having been a subscriber to *The Nation* since Volume I, Number 1, I thought of you and your other readers. My friend writes in part:

We live in a tiny hamlet roughly halfway between London and the coast. A few months before the war started I was roped in as air-raid warden for the village and attended lectures on what we were to expect and what we were to do. I am probably more nervous than most people—I don't think any of us were fire-eaters—and my constant worry was whether I could possibly face up to the thing when it started. I remember one lecturer, after instructing us how to deal with every conceivable emergency, concluded by saying, "But really your chief duty during an air raid will be to *stroll*—mark the word—through the village as if you were quite enjoying it; so as to give the other people confidence!"

When the raids began, I made two amazing discoveries: first, it turned out to be surprisingly easy to stroll through the village; and, secondly, there was no need to give other people confidence, for they had all they needed. Those days in September—the Battle of Britain as they now call it—were thrilling. On some half-dozen occasions there were from 100 to 300 planes scrapping right overhead. I have seen 30 planes shot down, over two-thirds of them Huns. Mostly these fights were on Saturdays and Sundays, which was fortunate for me, for the rest of the week I go to London for my business. One glorious Sunday in the space of thirty minutes I saw five Huns shot down.

The villagers, whom theoretically I had (a) to imbue with confidence, (b) to exhort with all the persuasion I could command to take shelter, were all out in the road or in their gardens cheering wildly. Immediately the raid started, off I went for my "stroll" through the village, and in the center of it I came across a party of some twenty cyclists, lads of fifteen to eighteen, out for a Sunday run. They had stacked their cycles and were lying on the grass flat on their backs watching the fighting overhead. I told them they were being very foolish and must take shelter. They said, "Thank you, but we don't want to take shelter." Then I told them that although I did not really mind if they got hurt, yet it would be giving a lot of extra work to ambulance parties, nurses, etc. It was no use. "Be a sport, Governor," they said, "we never see a show like this in London; the coppers make us get under cover." (It is only the police who can insist on persons taking cover.)

One night one of those terrible land mines which are dropped by parachute fell in a copse at one end of the village. Providentially it did not explode, for it measured, with the fins, eight feet by three feet in diameter, and the charge was fifteen hundredweight of TNT. But it might have gone off at any moment, and we had to evacuate everyone living within 1,000 yards until it had been rendered harmless or else detonated. On that occasion we had seventeen people for five days in our small house sleeping on the floors all over the place. A young naval lieutenant came along and successfully took all the fuses out of that monster. It took him over a day, and then he went off to tackle the same job somewhere else. I take off my hat to those fellows. I believe they work with one ear up against the mine, and if they hear the beastly thing start ticking—that is the clockwork fuse—they run as hard as they can, counting up to twenty and then throw themselves flat and trust to providence. I went to look at this monster as soon as he had drawn its fangs and noticed that he had stubbed out his cigarette ends all over it!

A week or two later they had a mine in the next village. They found they must detonate that one. A hitch occurred; the officer, a different man, went back to investigate; it went off, and he just vanished. They never found the slightest trace of him or of his clothing.

The night raids are much healthier for the Germans, but more unpleasant for us. For hours on end, it may be, you hear planes droning overhead and every now and again there is a crump. At a distance it is difficult to distinguish between a gun and a bomb; so in order to reassure your wife, whenever you hear a bang you exclaim, "That's one of our own guns." When one can go only by sound it is very difficult to estimate how far away an explosion is. Scores and scores of times there has been a loud bang, and the vibration has rattled the windows. I have thought that must have fallen in my "sector," which is just under a mile long, and have dressed and gone out to investigate, only to find everything O. K. The next day I have discovered that that particular one was from two to five miles away.

We had our first incendiaries comparatively recently. Suddenly in the night a plane shot out hundreds of them, which lit up the whole place. The only two that fell on buildings were put out before firing them, but thirty-one were blazing in my garden and some fifty in an orchard and field adjoining.

WILBUR MACY STONE

New York, August 7

On Using Troops in Strikes

Dear Sirs: Ferdinand Lundberg chooses to open a polemic on the sentence, "There can be no justification for the use of troops against strikers," which I used to explain my stand in defense of the right of workers to strike at the North American Aviation Company when faced by bayonets. (See *The Nation* for July 19.) It will interest your readers to know that, despite Mr. Lundberg's statement that I publicly supported the strike in "the newspapers of the nation," my urging local guilds to take a stand was not in any public form. It consisted simply of a telegram addressed to local Guild presidents, and it was made public by a Guild member on the eve of the Guild convention. That member, Milton Murray, is now running for president.

Nevertheless, privately or publicly, my stand is the same. I am against the use of troops to break strikes and I am for preserving the right to strike.

It so happens that I do not believe in the existence of absolute rights; Mr. Lundberg is tilting at a windmill when he says I believe the right to strike is absolute. When I declare "there can be no justification for the use of troops against strikers," I speak as a union leader who feels deeply there can be no free labor movement if troops break strikes. I am perfectly aware that civil rights through the history of our republic have been won by means of constant struggle; that strikes were long declared by law to be conspiracies; and that the law and the common law were changed by the pressure of American workmen.

"The fact, of course, is," says Mr. Lundberg, "that civil rights, including the right to strike, are projections of the law." This precious statement, all tidied up so nice and clean, comes from one who charges me with being absolutist in my thinking! Free men have never waited to exercise their civil rights until these rights were "projected" in law.

Mr. Lundberg should get out from behind the "philosophy." He should let the readers of *The Nation* know when, in the history of labor in the United States, starting, let us say, with the Pullman strike of 1894, the use of federal troops to break strikes *was* justified.

MILTON KAUFMAN

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